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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the history of Finnish didactics and the professionalization of teacher education. In Finland, didactics is an emerging academic discipline--the science of teaching or educational science for teacher education--and includes both the subject and contextual knowledge of teaching. At the same time, the context of teaching and learning, the school as a socio-historical institution, is of little interest. Education discourse in Finland since the 1860s is analyzed, as well as the recent development of department-level curricula for classroom teacher education at six Finnish universities in the 1980s and 1990s. Teacher professionalism in relation to the interests and professionalism of teacher educators is explored, as well as the theory of "social closure," in which professional status results from a group seeking to achieve monopoly in its field of activity and exclude other competing groups from the market. The results of the analysis suggests that while pursuit of a coherent picture of school teaching and learning requires involvement with other disciplines, the professionalism drift of teacher educators toward recognition of didactics as a distinct field works against this involvement. While pursuing justification of their existence as an academic field, teacher educators are excluding competing disciplines and constructing a social closure and a closed market ruled by their monopoly in the field. (Contains 72 references.) (ND)

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Decontextualizing Pedagogy:
The Rise of Didactic Closure in Finnish Teacher Education

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The subject of this paper is the science-legitimated pedagogical knowledge seen as essential and "true" enough to be mediated to students in the course of modern class-teacher education. It could also be characterized as the "science of teaching" or "educational science for teacher education". Actually there is in Finland one "discipline" covering this area nearly completely: Didactics with its various branches. Our basic aim here is to try to understand certain peculiarities in this body of knowledge through studying the history of the "science of teaching" and of the professionalization of teacher education.

The presentation is based, first, on a systematic analysis of Finnish state educational discourse since the 1860s. By "state educational discourse" we refer here to the national policy level curricula, governmental committee reports, and legislation on elementary and comprehensive schools and teacher education relating to them. In addition we analyze the recent development of the department-level curricula in class teacher education at six Finnish universities during the 1980s and the 1990s. The paper also has as its aim to relate the changes in pedagogical discourse to social changes which have taken place in the field of education, particularly to the changing positions, statuses and power relations among teacher educators in the field of higher education.

1. Outlines

In the following, we outline four points of departure for the paper. Our first point is David Labaree's (1992) conclusion that those most eager for the professionalization of teaching in the United States are not the teachers themselves nor their unions, but the academic teacher educators. He argues that the professionalization of teaching is first and foremost an extension of the efforts of teacher educators to raise their professional status by developing a science of teaching based on a formal rationalist model. Labaree claims that US teacher educators began in the 1960s "to adopt a formal, rationalist world-view and to apply it to the task of constructing a science of teaching" (ibid., 141). He describes, eloquantly, how 'naturally' teacher educators, looking for "the most powerful form of intellectual

technology that was available", turned towards empiricism and positivism as "an intellectual approach that over the centuries had proven effective for understanding social life and guiding social practice, and that have accumulated an enormous reservoir of cultural legitimacy." Labaree also claims that it was educational psychology that offered the suitable pattern because it "had already established a model for carrying out academically credible and scientific research in education." (ibid.)

Our second point of departure comes from recent sociological research into the professions, especially from a stream often characterized as "neo-Weberian" (see e.g. Rinne & Jauhiainen 1988; Konttinen 1989). For example Raymond Murphy (1988) has elaborated the Weberian approach further towards a theory of "social closure". Social closure includes the processes by means of which a social collectivity (religious, economic, cultural etc.) attempts to regulate market situations in accordance with its own interests. In this perspective, professional status is understood as a result of the successful strategy of collective occupational groups seeking to exclude other competing groups from the market and to achieve monopoly in their fields of activity. In other words, the question the tradition is asking is: how professions as historical occupational formations have succeeded in reaching their high social status, extensive privileges and monopoly position in the market.

At least three important issues have to be taken into account when using the social closure approach for sociological study on professions. First, the role of the state is essential. As Larson (1977) puts it, in corporative capitalism the ideal of a free and autonomous profession is nothing but an ideal. And at the same time it serves as an ideology which mysticizes the real social structures and relations. Especially in the European continental model of professions the state is "the holder of legitimate symbolic violence", the "geometric locus of all perspectives", the "central bank which guarantees all certificates" (Bourdieu, 1990, 137). Second, a prerequisite for a successful professional project is to arrive at a cognitive consensus and to create a body of knowledge that is legitimized by science (Larson, 1977; cf. Rinne & Jauhiainen 1988; Konttinen 1989). The authoritive expert discourse has to be constructed (Larson 1990). And thirdly, for a professionalization project to succeed it is necessary to exclude competing groups by means of social closure mechanisms. It is obvious that the pursuit of isolation and distinction rather than solidarity and co-operation characterizes relations with the nearest occupational groups in the field.

Our third point of departure will emphasize recent literature re-evaluating the possibilities and consequences of educational reforms. Empirical evidence has not provided much support for optimism in school reforms, at least since the 1960s. Pedagogical ideas and theories seem to have come and gone, but teaching has remained unchanged (see, e.g. Hoetker & Ahlbrand 1969; Sirotkin 1983; Cuban 1984; Leiwo et al. 1987; Kivinen, Rinne & Kivirauma 1985). One of the major promises of the modern school system, the promise to respond to the learning capacities and needs of every individual pupil, seems especially to have remained unredeemed (see, e.g., Bolvin 1991; Kuusinen 1992). This disappointment is crystallized in the title, "The Predictable Failure of Educational Reform", the book by the Grand Old Man of U.S. educational reforms, Saymor B. Sarason (1991). His main argument is that reforms have failed because they have not analyzed the school as a complicated social system and have neglected to scrutinize its power relations.

Two U.S. scholars of the history of schooling, David Tyack and Larry Cuban (1995), focus on the importance of the same contextual problematics while analyzing the reasons why the past century of public school reform has been a kind of "tinkering toward utopia". They write about the basic code of education or "grammar of schooling" that has puzzled and frustrated reformers, generation after generation. The lasting grammar of schooling refers to the fundamental regularities of teaching. It is a product of history through a seemingly fixed, pervasive, and intractable system of features that define how the teacher's work is done and defy attempts to change it. According to Tyack and Cuban (1995, 85), "little has changed in the ways the schools divide time and space, classify students and allocate them to classrooms, splinter knowledge into 'subjects', and award grades and 'credits' as evidence of learning". The grammar of schooling is not a primordial creation but results from the efforts of social groups that have been mobilized to win support for their definition of problems and their proposed solutions. Andy Hargreaves says the same thing: "Punctuated lesson periods, age-segregated classes, the subject-based academic curriculum, and paper-and-pencil testing are (-) highly specific sociohistorical products, yet they have come to define a paradigm of teaching and teacher's work that is hard to break or reconstruct, even as the emerging educational needs of post industrial age seems to call for new patterns of teaching and teacher's work organization to meet them." (Hargreaves 1994, 6211-6212)

Once established, the grammar of schooling persists, in part because it enables teachers to discharge their duties in a predictable fashion and to cope with their everyday tasks that school boards, principals, and parents expected them to perform: controlling student behavior, instructing heterogenous pupils, and sorting people for future roles in school and later life. Habitual institutional patterns can be labour-saving devices, ways to organize complex duties. "They become fixed in place by everyday custom in schools and by outside forces, both legal mandates and cultural beliefs, until they are barely noticed. They become just the way the schools are". (Tyack & Cuban 1995, 86)

Finally, as our fourth point of departure we will analyze the field of education as a social field, as a multidimensional space of positions, dispositions, and relationships in which the way of life and the expert discourse admitted to be serious and authoritative is produced, reproduced and transformed. Individuals, groups or even occupations do not move around in social space in a random way, because they are subjects to the forces which structure this space and because they resist the forces in the field with their specific inertia, that is "their properties which may exist in embodied form, as dispositions, or in objectified form, in goods, qualifications etc."(Bourdieu 1984,110).

We approach teacher education as a social field inside the field of higher education. In this context we analyze the field as a network or configuration of objective relations between the positions. The actual or potential place in the division of power and capital formation, which is needed in order to reach the profits divided in the field and the objective relation of the position in relation to the other positions are determining the whole existence of the position as well as the occupants of the positions, the agents and the institutions. (Bourdieu & Waquant 1995, 125).

The capital - be it cultural, economical or social - only exists and functions in relation to the field. In this way also the capital of teacher educators only exists and functions in relation to the prevailing field of higher education. The transformations of the social field, such as the general growth of education notable effects on the composition of the university field. The rapid expansion of the student population as well as the diversification of university faculties led to a growth in the professorial body especially since 1960s. Increasing number of faculty posts led to accelerated careers at least in

new disciplines and new faculties. We may propose, quoting Bourdieu (1988,130) "as a general law" that, this happened also "apart from the purely mechanical effects of crowding". The social agents inevitably also get lost in the crowd and exercise the social processes of anonymization and irresponsibilization with their special effects through the specific logic of the field. So we want to know, what these specific effects are, especially in the field of the new faculties of education and new units of primary school teacher education which came into being in Finland in the 1970s.

To sum up the basic question posed by this paper: Is it possible to reach a better understanding of the mainstream pedagogical discourse by analyzing it in relation to the positions of teacher educators in the social field of education?

In the next chapter we analyze the changing historical relationship between the state and teacher training. We are especially interested in the legitimative role of didactics as a psychology-based science of teaching.

2. In service of the State

2.1 Loyal civil servants - reliable pedagogy

When analyzing the pedagogical discourse, teaching as an occupation, and the profession of teacher educators in Finland, one has to keep in mind the strong traditional relationship between the state and the civil servants. In this respect Finland resembles the so-called continental model of professionalization (see, e.g. Collins 1990), it has always been the state that has guaranteed and legitimated the rights for professional groups to exercise their work and power. That was the situation under the Swedish crown (until 1809), under the Russian tsar (until 1917) and also thereafter during independence. Rulers have come and gone but the connection between state authority and the civil servant professions produced by the university has been quite stable. In the field of education the state authorities have the monopoly to give the only accreditation for practising teaching in Finnish primary schools, which in turn are owned by the municipal authorities after the church had lost its power.

The state is the field of fields, a place where - according to the well-known phrase of Max Weber (modified by Pierre Bourdieu) - struggles about legitimate symbolic violence are fought. The state is the fountain of symbolic power, it exercises different kinds of wedding ceremonies and rites, such as admitting the licenses, statuses and diplomas and all those procedures by which authorized exercisers of authorized positions ensure that the agent and the person is what (s)he is said to be and guarantee who (s)he is and what (s)he ought to be. As the sacrification resource it is the state which carries out these official procedures, states the agents and pushes the process through with its legitimate representatives. (cf Bourdieu & Waquant 1995, 141).

It is fair to say that the changes in teacher education have been closely linked with the general education reform policy of the State. The 1970s have sometimes been described as the "Golden Era of Reforms". In the case of education this might not be so much of an overstatement in Finland. Three important reforms were realized. First, in the Comprehensive School Reform (1972-77), the eight-year compulsory school and the parallel grammar school were replaced by the modern comprehensive school, comprising nine years of compulsory education. Second, the Teacher Education Reform (1973-79) concerned the training of teachers for both comprehensive and upper secondary schools. The change affected primary school teacher training most radically (the lower level grades 1 to 6). Their training was moved from teachers' colleges and small-town "teacher preparation seminaries" to the brand-new university faculties of education established by the reform (Rinne 1988). And finally, in 1979, training of primary school teachers was raised to the Master's degree level. This dramatically increased the role and extent of educational studies in teacher education. All this was linked with the third reform, the General Syllabus and Degree Reform of Higher Education (1977-80) which abolished the bachelor's degree. From then, the first academic degree was to be a master's-level higher degree. But in the midst of 1990s BA-degrees made their come back.

In terms of numbers teacher education is the largest sole teaching function in the Finnish university system in the 1990s. In late 1980s more than every tenth university student was studying for some sort of teacher training and one in five enrolling students planned to be a teacher. At the end of the 1980s, after two decades of academic primary school teacher training, it was Jaakko Numminen, Chancellor of the Ministry of Education who was

willing to ask the question: "The great number of university teachers and researchers in the field gives us the right and the obligation to ask, in what respect does educational research help to manage the national educational policy in practical teaching duties and educational administration." (Numminen 1988, 251-252). It is absolutely clear, that in Finland teacher training has ever since its birth been under very strict control by the state. Especially in the area of primary school teacher training one can hardly speak about academic freedom. Whether taking place in seminaries, colleges or in universities, teacher training has remained a very school-like process with highly standardized compulsory curricula and study programs. The freedom of choice allowed to students has been minimal compared with many other disciplines.

The open instrumentalist and utilitarian stance of the state apparatus with regard to educational science is also cleary articulated in Numminen´s assessment of the essence of educational research: The reason for the existence of educational science in universities and research institutes is simply to "improve education, the training of educators, and the teaching process itself -the whole educational process" (1987, 252).

By the very careful process of recruiting members of the teaching profession through its educational monopoly, the Finnish state has succeeded in engaging an extremely loyal civil servant army of primary school workers. Neither the Finnish primary school teachers nor their rather strong union have never been very radical. On the contrary, compared to most other national teacher unions and their members the Finnish teachers have been one of the most loyal conservative allies of the state. This tradition and close connection with state service may also partly explain why teacher educators and teacher education are not very interested in analyzing the social and historical frames of the teacher´s work, nor in trying to educate would-be primary school teachers to be socially reflective. (Kivinen & Rinne 1994; 1995.)

The special focus here will be on didactics, because it has proved to be the core legitimating point in Finnish teacher education, as so many developers of teacher education have stated (see, e.g., Lahdes 1987; Kansanen 1989; CR 1989a). The official standardized curriculum has become one of the most important frames in the development of Finnish didactics. In this respect also, the relationship between didactics and the official state curriculum is the essential issue. Pertti Kansanen (1987) a national authority in didactics

has noticed that the ever-broadening formal and official, statute-defined curriculum of the comprehensive school has, in practice in itself, veered towards didactics, and both the textbooks and the lectures in didactics are bound to explain and justify it. He characterizes didactics as normative ethics or justification of the official curriculum. Didactics is linked to the nationwide curriculum in such a manner that it cannot be understood as a descriptive science or as a theory of teaching. The Finnish didactics is entirely normative.

The other authority in the field, Erkki Lahdes (1986, 87) also emphasizes the close intertwining of didactics and the official, written curriculum. He writes: "Didactics are a general presentation of those means by which one seeks to realize the precedent curriculum. (...) While the curriculum is more a strategic means, the didactics are more tactical. (...) In itself, there is nothing in principle to prevent the merger of curriculum and didactics together and seeing them only as different levels of curriculum or didactics."

2.2. Didactics - educational science for the teacher

The Finnish pedagogical tradition is strongly flavoured with so-called Herbartianism. While the florescence of the pedagogy grounded by the famous Swiss philosopher Johan Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) was already mostly over in the rest of Europe, it arrived in Finland just at the end of the 19th century. Although Herbartianism in academic pedagogy was passé by the 1920s, the only textbook of didactics that was taught in all teacher seminaries until the Second World War was Herbart - Zillerian one (Isosaari, 1966, 216; Lahdes, 1969, 21). What is interesting here is the strong emphasis Herbart gave to psychology as the science that forms the very basis for didactics. In his pedagogy the goal which was built on the pillars of ethics, and didactics was to create the means for education. The famous "Herbartian triangle" is to be found in official Finnish documents for teacher training until the 1960s when ethics disappears, psychology turns educational psychology, and educational sciences become the scientific basis for educational studies in teacher education (Simola, 1993a). The Finnish pedagogical tradition therefore has a very strong connection with psychology as the basis for didactics, especially concerning teacher education.

The psychologization of educational sciences was strongly connected with

the fact that psychology itself was changing to become oriented towards dynamic "gestalt" psychology, "deep" psychology and intelligence-testing. The first Finnish psychological laboratory was founded at the university of Turku in 1921 and the first professorship at the Educational College of Jyväskylä (later the university of Jyväskylä) in 1936. (Rinne 1988,127). The educational sciences had many problems in taking control of the new educational psychology, because the field was strongly associated with "pure" psychology and "pure" philosophy. After the second world war, until the 1970s, the Finnish educational sciences became increasingly orientated towards empirical educational research. To an increasing degree educational sciences became psychologically- and didactically-oriented applied sciences, and at the same time began to make use of mathematically and statistically based psychological research. The rapid growth of the educational system made it necessary to have more information about the schools as well as the pupils, and large scale intelligence testing of school pupils became an important field of educational research.

Although even before the Second World War the experimental approach was used to some extent in educational psychology, most research in education was still historically- or philosophically-oriented in Finland (Kansanen, 1990, 281). When in the 1950s, the educational sciences began to struggle for academic recognition and empirical didactics achieved the dominant position in the 1960s (Päivänsalo, 1980, 233), the model was to be found in educational psychogy. The close relation of didactics to psychology also becomes clear when trying to decide the place of Finnish didactics in Anglo-American educational literature. "It becomes quite soon apparent that (...) textbooks contain two parts: educational psychology, in the strict sense of the word, and a part with normative advice, which is very much like didactics" (Kansanen 1990, 278).

The period of comprehensive school has thus far been dominated by one textbook on didactics above all others - that written by Lahdes, Professor of Didactics and the first secretary of the Comprehensive school Curriculum Committee. The book has reached its 10th edition and has been rewritten twice. The third revised version is under way (Lahdes, 1969; 1977 and 1986). The revisions have been based on changes in the conception of educational psychology. The clear behaviorism of the late sixties was flavoured with influences from mastery learning strategies and the structural ideas of S.C.T. Clarke in late seventies. In late eighties, Lahdes announced a "modern" turn in the psychology of learning from behaviorism to cognitivism. He

characterizes the approach of the latest book as constructivist and refers to the Swiss scholar and student of Jean Piaget, Hans Aebli as the most influential figure. It remains to be seen if this will mark the dawn of the historical return of Finnish didactics to the continental tradition after forty years of Anglo-American hegemony.

The psychology-based background of Finnish didactics has, with strong ties, bound the whole legitimation of Finnish teacher training together with positivism: "Psychometric theory and statistical testing have been the core contents in educational methodology, and only lately has the picture seemed to change towards a more balanced situation. The positivistic approach based on critical rationalism or empiric-analytical school nevertheless has a strong hold on Finnish educational research". (Kansanen 1990, 282).

Ulf P. Lundgren (1991) conducted an interesting analysis of the relationship between psychology-based pedagogical thinking and the state-centred school reforms. He claims that there are two basic notions behind the curriculum reforms of recent decades. First, there is "the progressive notion that the curriculum ought to centre on the individual child's demands and experiences", and second, "the pragmatic notion that the objectives for education should be precisely stated and founded on demand analysis". (ibid., 46) He sees a very close connection between this and the facts that, psychology was established as the basis of most educational research, and that goals should be formulated in order to specify the behaviour expected. He concludes that "the progressive and pragmatic notions were closely related, in that the behavioural goals were influenced by learning psychology and were pre-requisite for evaluation. Precisely defined goals also enabled decision makers to evaluate and choose between comparable methods and material for instruction. (...) the curriculum reforms in various nations during the last two decades tended to be similar in that they were reforms which, though not founded directly on political decisions, were successively implemented through teaching materials and the growing consensus about the foundations of curriculum". (ibid., 47)

This conclusion fits the Finnish case quite well. The narrow, psychological individualism of didactics and educational reform policy, where the goals are formulated as behaviour of the individual learner constitutes the basis for consensus on curriculum design. On the mutual interests of educational scientists and educational politics Lundgren claims that: "During the last

few decades educational research has fought for recognition as an empirically founded social science. At the same time, educational research has become, from an economic point of view, dependent on a growing bureaucracy. For the decision makers it has been important to have scientific legitimations for change, while for reseachers it has been important to legitimate simple, isolated, empiristic studies, educational ideas or innovations, as scientific research." (Lundgren 1991, 50)

This means, according to Lundgren, that the educational researcher may well become an innovator, but easily at the same time the loyal and uncritical legitimator of the never-ending reforms important to the educational policy makers and planning machineries for making the school seem modern, advanced and fulfilling its tasks in order to deserve continued public faith (see Popkewitz 1991). "By beginning with learner, without any basic theory or any theory of constraints of teaching, the researcher can define himself or herself as an innovator." "On the other hand", Lundgren continues, "educational research (...) is unlikely to result in explanations that are critical of the educational system or the curriculum" because "knowledge gained will always be concerned with what the individual learner can do, rather than how educational systems function and create conditions for the individual learner, and what are the constraints on and possibilities for change." (Lundgren 1991, 49.)

3. The didactic closure of teacher education

The central concept in the following is decontextualization. By this we mean a process through which the authoritative expert discourse in education tends to be less and less interested in the context of teaching and learning itself, especially in its historically, societally and institutionally formed mode of compulsory mass-schooling. First we present a general analysis of state educational discourse. Then we will scrutinize the process of decontextualization in departmental curricula in Finnish teacher education.

3.1 Decontextualization of pedagogical discourse

In a study of state educational discourse on the Finnish "model teacher" from the 1860s to the 1990s (Simola, 1995a; 1995b; Simola, Heikkinen & Silvonen, forthcoming; see also Rinne 1986), three modern themes were identified in the post-war period, emerging clearly in '60s at the time of comprehensive school reform. These parallel theemes may be named discourses of individualization, disciplinization and decontextualization.

a. Individualization

Before the Second World War, Finnish curricular and committee texts rarely spoke about pupils as individuals. Although the benefits of mass schooling for the people were mentioned, it was principally legitimated by the needs of society, of the Nation, of the Fatherland. When a child or a pupil was spoken of in the singular, it was in the sense of the generalized individual, one among the citizens. It was not the individual but a group of children who were to be educated. The aim was to educate pupils in the established religious and peasant way of life where "work and faith were the central concepts of the curriculum and, home and fatherland its solid ground" (Rinne 1987, 109).

This so-called moral curriculum code changed to become a civic code after the Second World War. Only then did the solitary and original individual emerge at the side of Society as the legitimate basis for mass schooling. However, the individual was still subordinated to the interests of Society. The school was seen as a "minor society" and as a working place for children. These features were to be utilized in moulding "school-life" as totally educative. The main task of the school was to train "individuals for Society".

Only since the late 1960s has the modern individual surpassed society as the primary source of legitimation for schooling. The curricular code broke up into an individualist code, in which the main ethos was found in the new promise to respond to individual learning needs and the individual qualities of each pupil (Rinne 1987). While the basic problem of teaching until the 1960s was the number of pupils, since the late 1960s it has been the diversity of individual pupil personalities. The 1970 curriculum proposed the core of a new discourse, while stating that pedagogic expediency and flexibility is more important than the number of pupils. It is no wonder,

therefore, that opinions about the knowledge and the skills necessary for teachers have also changed. Discussion about discipline and order in the classroom was replaced first by concepts of "socially positive order for work". Since the late 1960s, no reference has been made to social psychology as a necessary element of the teacher's knowledge. The new didactically-oriented concept was "differentiation" and it was proposed as a basic tool for taking the diversity of pupils into account in classroom teaching. Before the late 1960s, the need for individual observation was focused rather on pupils who were labelled as "behaviorally problematic" than on every pupil. But since the 1970s, the teacher has been demanded to know deeply every single pupil, e.g., and "be aware of the study-related factors in the individual pupil's home environment". The teacher ought also "to be aware of the previous learning results, abilities, attitudes, expectations and the health condition of the pupil" - no matter whether (s)he might be a class teacher with 20 pupils or a subject teacher with 200 pupils (CR 1975, 32-33).

The promise to respond to the diversity of pupils has culminated in the most recent texts, where the individual-centred task of the teacher has been reinforced by emphasizing the ethical character of the teacher's work. In the latest 1994 curriculum, the teacher is seen as a "counsellor of learning" or a "designer of the learning environments" of the individual learners. The school now carries the rhetoric of offering "individual study plans" or even "personal curricula" in accordance with the needs and abilities of pupils. (Curr 1994, 10, 20) But while the omnipotence of the school in the 1970s and 1980s was based on pedagogy, it is now leaning on the flexibility of the organizational culture and on a school-based curriculum. The idea in the late '1960s was that the teacher's work was to mould the school-life of a group of pupils. Now the whole task is strongly centred on the individual.

b. Disciplinization

Since ethics and psychology became differentiated from religion at the beginning of this century, the knowledge base of teaching, i.e. educational studies, has consisted of pedagogical, psychological, philosophical, societal, and practical knowledge. Until the Second World War - and in certain aspects even until the 1960s - educational aims were formulated upon ethics and the prerequisites of psychology. The task was to combine these two premises into practical teaching methods. The character of educational studies in teacher education were ideological, because the studies were meant first of all to develop the devotion and consciousness of the mission

of the teacher. On the other hand, educational knowledge was also expected to be practical and to provide a repertoire of teaching methods to apply in various circumstances of the teacher's work. One may conclude that, until the mid '60s, educational studies in teacher training were multiple, pragmatic and ideological, based on psychology and ethics, and in all ways related to the needs of teaching practices - as interpreted by the National Board of Education.

The turning point was the 1967 Teacher Training Committee Report (CR 1967). The model of teacher as a well-educated handyman was replaced by the model of the science-legitimated expert teacher. In the 1969 report, it was proposed that responsibility for teacher education be wholly assigned to the universities, and the 1975 report proposed that the training be raised to Master's degree level. Through scientification of teacher education, it was intended to transform teaching from "a haphazard activity into a rational one" (CR 1975, 40). The new glorious teacher was to become a "didactic thinker" and "researcher into his/her work" (CR 1967; CR 1975). The student of the '90s would have to grind his/her way through educational studies five times as long as his/her colleague in the '60s.

From the late 1970s on not only practical and philosophical knowledge but also societal knowledge has been almost completely deleted from the knowledge foundation for teacher's work . After 1970, there is no notion of contradiction between the pursuit of individual treatment of pupils and the evident mass character of the school. While giving a lot of attention to learning difficulties, the teachers' unavoidable incapacity to attend to the problems of individual pupils in a full classroom is never mentioned as one of the reasons for this. Though in Finland a great majority of primary schools are small and rural with less than three teachers, their specific pedagogical problems are nearly completely neglected in teacher education texts. In 1975, the third of the primary school pupils were in small schools that consisted 75% of all primary schools (CR 1975, 83, 89). In the middle of the 1980s, nearly half of primary school teachers were working in so called "combined classrooms" with pupils from at least two different age group (Kivinen 1988, 263).

Table 1. Distribution of knowledge in the state curriculum for teacher training from 1920's to 1990's (%)

Field of knowledge	The committee report				
	CR 1922	CR 1960	CR 1975	CR 1978	CR 1989**
Pedagogic	39	26	69	78	+-
Psychological	25	39	9	7	+
Philosophical	11	6	2	0	+
Societal	21	13	16	9	-
Practical	4	16	5	5	-
Total	100%	100%	101%	99%	

N.B. for reasons of comparability, the percentages are related to educational studies not including the teaching practice.

** In CR 1989, the contents are not expressed exactly enough for percentage counting. Thus + refers to increasing and - to decreasing proportions of the subfield of knowledge in the text.

This "disciplinization" of the teacher's knowledge base culminated in the 1989 committee, which saw "didactically-oriented educational science" as the only source of truth, true knowledge for teaching. While speaking about the multiplicity of the teachers' work, there was only one reference to educational psychology and none to sociology or history of education. Whereas up to the 1960s the knowledge base for teaching has been seen as a multiple, pragmatic and ideological combination of ethical, psychological, pedagogical, historical and subject knowledge determined by the National Board of Education, this has been totally replaced since the late 1960s by the new thinking. Didactically-oriented educational science has formed the core of the knowledge base required for the teacher's work.

c. Decontextualization

We may say that it is in decontextualization of state educational discourse where both individualization and disciplinization are intertwined. Only through forgetting the mass-character and compulsion of schooling, it is credible to promise to respond to individual learning needs and capacities of every pupil. And only through exclusion of institutional reality of schooling, the individual-centered didactics may become the core of teacher's professional knowledge. The institutional context of teaching and learning in schools has disappeared gradually from texts since the 1970s.

This has happened in two main ways. First, the school has come to be seen as a "natural" environment for children. In the 1950s, when schooling was as well seen as a necessity for civilization, it was also seen clearly as "unnatural", "while started at the age of 7" and "in its actual comprehensiveness". Schooling consisted, even at best, of "imposing a lot of strange things onto children, which the child's nature resists" (Curriculum, 1952, 27). This confrontation between the "natural" child and "unnatural" schooling disappeared during the "naturalization process" while the problem of unnaturalness has become a question of "pedagogic expediency".

The second way in which decontextualization was realized was the concealment of certain peculiarities of schooling, especially its obligatory and mass character. One original and basic argument for compulsory schooling was to save children from disastrous idleness resulting from the labor laws in the late 19th century which limited the possibilities of keeping children at work. This protective "storehouse function" of schooling was an explicit and legitimate argument in those days for lengthening the duration of compulsory education and was in force right up to the 1960s. Not long after this the notions of the compulsory and obligatory character of school disappears from texts.

Decontextualization dominates also the way of speaking about learning in state educational discourse. Before the 1970s, it was quite unusual to speak about learning in state educational discourse. Teaching was the word. Up to the 1960s, the main task of the teacher was seen as teaching a classroom full of pupils. There was simply almost no room to discuss learning in the curricula of 1925 and 1952.

The change in the Finnish curriculum of 1970 was significant (Curriculum 1970). First, discussion of learning was not only increased in amount but also psychologized and didacticized. A whole family of brand new "learning" jargon was born, including numerous sisters, brothers, cousins and second cousins, such as the prerequisites for learning, learning experiences, learning motivation, learning conditions, learning process, learning event, learning difficulties, learning results etc.

Second, the discussion on learning concentrated on high-level learning: learning abstractions, learning based on internal motivation, creative learning, meaningful learning etc. "Learning difficulties" have come to

refer not only to school learning but difficulties in whatever context. Learning in school has become a synonym for learning in general. The model of learning in school has become the modern model of learning.

The disappearance of the learning context is reaching its culmination point in two of the most recent texts, in the committee report of 1989 and in the curriculum of 1994. A distanced reader would get the image that to study in a Finnish school is taking part in individual or small group teaching. There exists no classroom, no teaching group, not any other context but the "learning environment". The school is envisioned in the 1994 curriculum as "a versatile learning centre that provides flexible and high-quality educational services" to the "learners" (Curriculum 1994, 10). The institutional frame factors, determined by the historical, societal and cultural reality, have been completely hidden from the rhetoric. As an illustrative example of the gulf between the discourse and the hidden reality is that even the most important new trends around the school, the marketization of education and the introduction of the national evaluation system, are not even mentioned in the 1994 curriculum.

The marriage between the official decontextualized curriculum and the didactics can be seen in the structure and emphasis of didactic textbooks. In the most used textbook of didactics, Lahdes (1986, 21) presents the Tyler Rationale (goals -> teaching procedures -> learning -> evaluation and feedback) as the "basic model of teaching" and thus defines the main focuses of didactics. The same model structures all the textbooks on subject didactics. (See, e.g., Hellgren 1992, 30.) In other words, the focus has strongly turned to social engineering, to aims and means, while the context, the school as a socio-historical institution with its compulsory and mass character, with its specific and deep-rooted modes of time, space and rituals, is not thematized at all (cf. Kivinen, Rinne & Kivirauma 1985). Even when brief references are made to the empty black box of "physical and socio-affective frame factors" which constitute schooling, it is passed over and by mentioning that, all the same, "the teachers ultimately make the school", or by remembering that the school is also "an organization with its own qualities and rules" (e.g., Lahdes 1986, 53, 61).

3.2 Didactic closure in departmental curricula of teacher education

In the light of the state curriculum of teacher education, there seemed to be a tendency to "disciplinization" or "didacticization" of the professional knowlege base for teaching. Schooling as an institution for historically formed, obligatory mass education seems to be ignored as uninteresting. The everyday activities of teaching and learning in school, the socio-cultural system of time, space and rituals - "the grammar of schooling" (Tyack & Cuban 1995) - appears to be out of focus or even absent when improvement of teaching and learning is planned and propagated. This is what we characterized above as decontextualization in state educational discourse. In the following we ask whether this tendency is also to be found at the level of teacher education department curricula: what is the role of contextual studies there?

In the following presentation, the range of "contextual studies" is outmost wide including studies from cultural history, ecology and peace education to social psychology of the school and sociology of education. Beside the courses, also obligatory textbooks have been taken into account. Thus the analysis covers all the socio-psychological, sociological, political, cultural, historical and even ecological content elements of class teacher training programs. The material of the analysis is the curricula of six main-campus departments from universities responsible of teacher training representing the majority of all class-teacher training in Finland. (A more detailed presentation, see Simola, fortcoming.)

From table 2 we can draw the simple conclusion that the share of contextual studies, varying from 6 to 4% of the whole 160 credits of the class teacher education program, is actually tiny. In the early 1980s, it followed the recommendations of the committee report of 1978 exactly, decreasing then until the beginning of the 1990s to almost half of that figure. In 1995, the extent of contextual studies begins to increase slightly, however, which may be a sign of some kind of culmination point in the process of didacticization.

Table 2. The means of contextual studies in class teacher education curricula of six Finnish teacher education departments

	1981-82	1986-87	1991-92	1995-96
contextual studies	9.8 credits	7.3 credits	5.8 credits	6.8 credits
% of all studies	6.1%	4.6%	3.6%	4.3%

However, a scrutiny of the changes in content areas clarify the picture substantially (table 3). The decrease seems to come nearly totally from two sources: from a sharp drop in general societal and educational policy studies, while the share of social psychology and sociology of education have increased. It is notable also that historical studies remain at their low level.

Table 3. Relative proportions of contextual studies in class teacher education curricula of six Finnish teacher education departments, according to the subfields (%)

	1981-82	1986-87	1991-92	1995-96
(1) social, psychology	0.7	1.0	0.8	1.7
(2) sociology of education	2.1	1.7	2.4	2.9
(3) history of education	1.1	0.8	1.3	1.1
(4) ed policy studies	1.0	0.6	0.3	0.5
(5) general soc. studies	5.0	3.3	1.0	0.6

When trying to answer our final question about the ways in which contextual studies "help" didactics, we also have to analyze the aims and contents presented in the curricula. It is not surprising that until the early 1990s, the picture was quite clear and uniform. The academization of teacher education was realized, and the ensuing reform process regulated it in a strictly centralized manner. (See, e.g. Simola 1993a.) In the following, we move on to analyze the contribution of different content areas of contextual knowledge in their relation to pedagogical knowledge.

As mentioned above, social psychology (1) as a discipline disappeared totally from state educational discourse in the 1970s, when it was merged into educational psychology. This absence may be read at the curriculum level too, with a few exeptions. The contents of social psychology were included in educational psychology as minor and sparse references to the social character of classroom teaching and learning. Unlike social psychology, the sociology of education (2) was institutionalized as its own 1-3 credit courses in nearly all departments. The aims and contents were, however, clearly emphasized on the macro-level, describing the basic concepts of the discipline with a functionalist flavour. It is illuminating that, e.g., Paul Willis' "Learning to Labour" - though a kind of a small classic of the sociology of education and translated into Finnish in 1984 - was not used as a textbook in teacher education. The minimal portion of history of education (3) was rarely organized on its own. It was merged into the history of educational ideas, and thus, not surprisingly, there were only a few references to the institutional history of education. In the aims and contents of educational policy studies (4), one may easily read that their function has rather been to legitimate the current state policy than to analyze or question it. In the same spirit, descriptions of the Finnish school system and doctrines of educational planning have been strongly emphasized in the contents of the scanty studies in educational policy. On the most general level, the collapse of general social studies (5) in teacher education is an illuminating phenomenon. Ironic indeed, one of the main points of teacher education reform was to increase the emphasis on societal and education policy issues in teacher education. Lahdes (1987, 10) has stated that this purpose was not realized as much as it was desired in the "society-emphasizing atmosphere" of the mid-1970s. Sceptically he writes that students have not been very interested in these issues and states openly that actually, "the times have bypassed this demand" (ibid, 106).

In sum, one may conclude that up to the early 1990s, it is very hard to find any explicit connections between pedagogical and contextual knowledge in departmental curricula in Finnish teacher education. The ever-decreasing contextual knowledge tends to remain as a macro-level, state policy legitimating and reificating island in the didacticized pedagogical archipelago of the knowledge system for teachers-to-be. Both at macro-, mezzo- and micro-level, from society to classroom, new teachers seem to pass their academic training as practically analphabetic concerning the socio-historical, institutional and cultural character of schooling. Depending on their educational studies, the school appears to them as a purely

pedagogical or didactical phenomenon. One may see this decontextualization of pedagogical discourse as an excellent example of the misrecognition of schooling (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1968). This may be crystallized by analysing the academization and scientification of teacher training as follows: "In this way the image of the school is reinforced as a natural institution, external to questions of societal power, where perfectly trained didactic technicians perform their best for the good of all. This misrecognition of the fundamental nature of the school and of teacher training appears, indeed, to be one of operational conditions necessary for the institutional training of teachers." (Kivinen & Rinne, 1990, 18.)

In 1995, a new differentiation process seems to be emerging (table 4). While three "traditional" departments continue in the decontextualizing line with shrinking social studies, the other three double the extent of these studies.

Table 4. Credits of contextual studies in class teacher education curricula of six Finnish teacher education departments, by department

	1981-82	1986-87	1991-92	1995-96
Helsinki	11.5*	11.5	7.5	5
Jyväskylä	8	2	6.5	9.5
Turku	8.5	6	3	8.5
Oulu	9.5	7.5	5.5	9.5
Joensuu	13	9.5	7.5	4.5
Rovaniemi	8.5	7	5	3.5

* The figures are in study-weeks of credits

There is a clear difference, however, between these "progressive" departments. Oulu and Jyväskylä may be called the "reflective progressivists". Both place special emphasis on sociological knowledge. In their curricula, there is discussion e.g. of "the partly contradictory role of the teacher" as a societal actor and as a promoter of the "hidden effects of schooling". It is promised that studies will be oriented towards analysis of the "action culture of the school, its elements and interactive relations". Many of the textbooks in use are fresh and some even "radical". It is illuminating and at the same time symbolically meaningful enough that Oulu has choosen a textbook titled "An Introduction to Sociology" for its entrance examination in 1995.

One of the "progressivists" (Turku) is an even more curious case. Considering the differences as compared with the "reflective progressivists", it might be called the "change-committed" approach. The increase in contextual studies comes from one distinctive source. Since the mid-1980s, textbooks that might roughly be counted as belonging to the framework of so called school-based development or management have been included in various departmental curricula. What these books have in common is the strong conviction of what kind of place the school ought to be and how to reach this ideal through rational action on the school level. An eminent example of this literature is Michael Fullan's "Change forces" (1993), which was recently translated in Finnish. The school-based development movement existed in Finnish teacher education only through a few textbooks until in 1995 in Turku, a course was created that scrutinizes "principles and management culture of learning organizations" focusing also on "the teacher and the school as a 'change agent' from the perspective the whole culture and society".

Thus, while the picture until the early 1990s could be seen as supporting the thesis of decontextualization of pedagogical discourse also in the departmental curricula of teacher education, the situation in 1995 seems to be more complicated and diversified. Concerning the three "traditional" departments, the continuity of decontextualization is still clear, while in the case of the three "progressive" departments the conclusion is more diffuse. In both the "reflective" and "change-committed" departments, at least one strong reservation to optimism must, however, be made. The lack of an approach to schooling as a historically formed institution is evident in all cases. A century long history of school reforms (see, e.g., Sarason 1991; Tyack & Cuban 1995) seems still to be irrelevant to teacher education. The belief in the omnipotence of didactics of the 1970s and the 1980s seems to be replaced in the 1990s by the belief in the omnipotence of organization. The uses of the concept of "learning environment" as one of the present key-words of educational expert discourse give evidence for this claim. Mainly the learning environment is seen - at least in Finnish texts (see, e.g., Curriculum 1994) - as a rather easily changeable phenomenon without the historically, culturally and societally determined inertia embedded in definitions of time, space and rituals of schooling practices. Thus the teacher is routinely characterized as a "planner and organizer of the learning environment" (see, e.g. Curriculum 1994). Especially in the case of "change-committed progressivism", there is an evident danger that the

belief in the omnipotence of didactics will be substituted for that of organization because of a constant need to encourageng optimism in reformism.

3.3 Towards school-free didactics and school-full pedagogy

It is reasonable to conclude, that the core of "the true knowledge on teaching" in both the state educational discourse and in the departmental curricula of teacher education is eloquently characterized in its decontextulization by the term "school-free didactics"; a science of how the teacher should teach and how the pupil should learn in the school - as if it were not the school. But is this a picture drawn only by reading the official documents or does it also include some clues about the pedagogic practices of modern Finnish teacher education? One has, of course, to be careful and to admit the old truth of the hidden curriculum tradition, that there is no direct link or one-to-one consistency between the official curriculum and the realized, experienced or hidden curriculum of teacher education.

Keeping in mind the distinction mentioned above there is also another reasonable and useful distinction. Kansanen (1993) has recently wanted to distinct between the concepts of "school pedagogy" and "didactics". We use this distinction as a concluding remark for the chapter on didactic closure of teacher training.

Both of the concepts are interested in the teaching process, but the orientation of school pedagogy is based on the social sciences, especially on the sociology of education while the perspective of didactics comes from educational philosophy and psychology. According to Kansanen, the subject of school pedagogy is the school as a social system with its frame factors limiting the didactical procedures and possibilities of both teachers and pupils. Thus, school pedagogy isconsciously seeking to construct a theory of schooling. On the contrary, didactics concerns the individual teacher and pupil. As a discipline, didactics constructs universal models and theories of teaching without taking into account the frame factors of schooling. But, as Kansanen points out, "whenever we try to apply these models in practice, we need the help of school pedagogy and theories of schooling." (ibid, 25)

Relating this to the references of the historical analysis above, it is fair to conclude that up to the early 1990s didactics has not needed the help of

school pedagogy and theories of schooling - neither in state educational discourse, nor in textbooks of didactics, nor in departmental curricula for teacher education. The analysis of changes which have taken place in the discourse of teacher training documents (as well as the other analysis) show clearly that the path leads towards a pure didactics, a kind of abstract, non-historical and decontextualised science of teaching. Though increasing of contextual studies in some departments, they still appear to lack especially the historical dimension of schooling. In this discourse, the "educational science for teacher education", the science of teaching appears as "school-free didactics". Perhaps this is why the national evaluation report of educational sciences by the Finnish Academy characterizes Finnish didactic research as studies which are often "for school teaching", but not, however, concerned "with teaching and learning in school" (Educational Research in Finland, 1990., 56).

4. Teacher educators in the social field of higher education

The oldest faculties in Finnish university system were the faculties of humanities and law. The first university, the Turku Academy was founded in 1640, but only the 20th century saw the broadening of the university system. Finland followed the universal law of expansion of the higher education system at an ever accelerating speed after the second world war. That was also the time when faculties of social sciences became established in universities. During a long period in the 1950s, 1960s and still in the 1970s, a strong policy of decentralization was exercised in Finland and at the same time the higher education system was decentralized and spread all over the country. It was in this connection in the 1970s that primary school teacher education was raised to university level with eight brand new faculties in 12 different areas.

4.1. Didacticization of professorial posts in education

Although the first chair in educational sciences was founded already in 1852, the growth of the number of professorial chairs was very slow for one hundred years. In the beginning of the 1970s there were only 7 full professors, but in the beginning of the 1980s there were already more than

30 full professors due to the fact that primary teacher education was included in the higher education system. In 1995 there were 50 full professors and 83 associate professors of education in the field of higher education, the total sum being 133. The growth of staff in teacher training has been one of the fastest among faculty staffs in Finnish higher education since 1970s. The total number (133) of professorships in education in Finland is five-fold to comparable posts of education in Sweden or Norway or double compared to the posts of both history and sociology together in Finland. The increase in the field of education is comparable only with that of economics.

The process of didacticization is not taking place only in words and discourse. The agents and the positions in the field of teacher education are also involved. One can say that the central struggles of power relations in any academic field centre around the naming and filling of the highest academic posts, the professorial chairs. This is the reason why we now look at the situation of the division of professorships in the field of education and academic teacher training. In a way the following tables show how the process of didacticization is realized and embodied in the most eminent representatives of the field, the agents having the chair of professor.

The following table 5 gives us a picture of how the professors are divided between the institutes of "pure" education and the institutes of teacher education.

Table 5. Professors and associate professors of education in Finland in 1995 by department

	Professors		Associate professors		Total	
	n	%	n	%		%
Departments of Teacher Education	28	56	60	72	88	66
Departments of Education	22	44	23	28	45	34
Total	50	100	83	100	133	100

In 1995 almost two out of three professors (88) worked in teacher training. At the dawn of the reform in 1975, when the faculties of education were founded, the corresponding share was about one in two professors and the

number of professors in teacher training was slightly more than 30. So the amount has tripled and the share increased considerably.

The following table shows how the shares and numbers of professors are divided among different subfields of education.

Table 6. Professors and associate professors of education in Finland in 1995 by subfield

	Professors	Associate professors	Total	%
	n	n	n	
Education (General)	21	13	34	26
Adult Education	6	5	11	8
Special Education	3	5	8	6
Didactics	6	42	48	36
Psychology of Ed.	1	6	7	5
Sociology of Education	2	2	4	3
Preschool Education	-	5	5	4
Others	11	5	16	12
Total	50	83	133	100

As one can see more than one third of professors (36%) in 1995 represented directly the field of didactics (the amount climbing to 48 professors). It is also striking that most of those professors are not full but associate professors. The share (26%) accounted for by "general" education is clearly smaller. And such basic fields as educational psychology and sociology of education, which try to keep up the old connections with the "basic" sciences outside the faculty have only minor representation in the professoriate.

Special education and adult education have in recent years taken rather large strides in widening their field and interests in the field of education. When comparing table 6 with the situation in 1975, the composition of the professoriate has changed rather dramatically. The number and shares of professors in didactics has increased much faster than the corresponding number and shares of professors of general education or those professorships connected with the sciences outside the faculty of education.

In sum, the changes seen in the table describe quite clearly that it has merely been an invasion of didactics which has taken place in the field of education

and teacher training.

The class-teacher education programs at universities have opened up new chairs for the "mandarins" of the new academic profession. Another outcome of this reform was an extraordinary "appointment game", where the winner secures a pleasant future for her/himself and success for his discipline. To start the game it may be necessary to invent a name for a strange, previously unknown field of research. During the second round, "new" academic achievements may have to be squeezed out of the old mandarins by means of more or less forceful persuasion, as qualified experts are needed to assess the qualifications of applicants in the newly named field. Foreign experts can rarely be invited, since most of these new fields are unknown elsewhere, and in any case the writings of the applicants are mostly in Finnish. The third round is actually finding suitable qualified applicants for the most eminent posts, which is not always an easy task. There may be several professorships simultaneously vacant in a department of teacher education of some remote university. Finding qualified incumbents is hard, and the competition is not always about scholarly merits but about credibility. (Kivinen & Rinne 1992).

Accordingly, an evaluation group appointed by the Academy of Finland has reported great difficulties in filling some academic posts in education. The statements submitted by the invited experts seem to indicate that the universities have lowered the relevant requirement levels (cf. Educational... 1990). Futhermore, the group reports that "only a few tenured professors continue intensive research in their own specific field or supervise a research group. The integration of teacher training into universities and the formation of specific education faculties has weakened the connections of educational research with related fields."

In a small country like Finland the rapid invasion of posts has led to strategies where social capital ("contacts") acquired in the field of education plus the opinions of a few energetic mandarins may carry a disproportionate weight along side of rather modest scholarly merits.

Compared with other Nordic countries, as with other fields in Finnish higher education the number of professors seems high. But compared with the number of students or the degrees completed in education the number is not so high. This if anything tells us something about the mass character of Finnish teacher training and about the fact that, compared with many

other traditional university disciplines, the function of teacher training concentrates heavily on training, not so much on research. The primary school teacher training professors are an ideal example of the "mass higher education" professors, who do not have very much in common with the old "elite university" professoriate. (Trow 1974). This tells us a lot about their orientation, positions, dispositions and habitus in the social field of massifying and diversifying higher education. And that also gives us the core facts for understanding the struggles about the "right" and "wrong", about the classification systems of teaching, about the subfields etc., which are ongoing in the social field of higher education.

4.2. Teacher educators occupying the academic field

Even if the state with its educational reform policy is a central force in constituting the social space for teacher educators, it is in the academic field where the new group has to struggle for a position among other disciplines. In various studies (see e.g. Lanier 1986) on the status of teacher educators in the U.S. academic field, they seem to be the low-status group and their socio-cultural background is also lower than that of other academic groups. The distinction between education (especially educational policy, administration of education) and teacher education has been crucial in the U.S. so that the latter has clearly been below the former in the hierarchy. The study on the social background of Finnish professors provides parallel evidence for this since both students and professors of education in Finland also have a lower social background than most of their academic colleagues in other disciplines.

The social background of professors of education is far more often in labour and farming than those of the most other Finnish professors. According to Antikainen & Jolkkonen (1988) more than half of the fathers of professors of education in Finland were blue-collar workers or farmers, when among the fathers of history professors, for example, the proportion was less than one in five. Again, Sakari Ahola (1995) finds quite similarly in his correspondence analysis that the factor which is typical for professors of education is the blue-collar father. This is partly due to the fact that even today many of the professors in education are making their career through having been first (primary school) teachers themselves.(cf Rinne 1988).

If we are using the Bourdieuan (1984; 1988; cf Broady 1990) concepts of

capitals in analysing the position of teacher educators in the social field of higher education, we arrive at the following conclusions. First, the cultural capital of teacher educators and professors of didactics is considerably lower than in university chair holders in average. They do not have the over-generational cumulative cultural heritage, but they are "parvenus" in the field where the old mandarins of a social and cultural elite are still exercising the power accorded to their inherited privileges. (cf Ringer 1969). This is the fact even when comparing them with other professors involved in teacher training in general. Their closest neighbours in the field are the representatives of the old subject disciplines (eg. history, languages, mathematics) as well as the rivalling social sciences (philosophy, psychology, sociology), which both carry in their positions, dispositions and habitus much older and heavier over-generational cultural capital than they do. Secondly, the new teacher trainers also have much less economic capital because they come from families with low social status and small fortune on average. They do not even have much to do with the private market economy sector, because all their students are employed in lower paid posts in the public economy sector. And thirdly, they do not have a very heavy social capital either, because their family background is almost totally absent from the highly prestiged cultural spheres of the old university elite. In other words the teacher education professors are almost entirely first-generation novices in the cultural games played according to the rules determined by the academic tradition and the old mandarins of the university.

One could assume that already the lower social background makes it troublesome for educational scientists to fight their way and occupy a strong position in the academic field. Their habitus is not bound to carry on the over-generational academic excellence and prestige so typical to many other professional groups in the field (cf. Bourdieu 1984). If this is the case with traditional educational scientists, whose science has nevertheless, occupied the first chair of education in Finland as far back as 1852 and who have been organized in their own departments since the 1940s, the position of teacher educators, as academic newcomers, must be even worse. The state policy in the early '70s transferred primary teacher education to the universities and moved in practice virtually all the seminary and college staff to become members of the university faculty. In those days, the teacher educators in seminaries and colleges had practically no more educational capital than the teachers in upper secondary schools.This fact probably did not raise the 'academic credibility' of teacher education nor of teacher educators among

the old and honorable academic disciplines.

Since the '80s, there have been various critics of the isolation and the paucity of interdiciplinary relations in teacher education and the educational sciences in general. According to many critics, it was the establishment of scientifically narrow faculties of education - as 'teacher education units' - that has been the basic reason for this tendency (e.g., Numminen 1987; Päivänsalo, 1980 ; Educational Research in Finland 1990). The evaluation report on Finnish educational research by the Finnish Academy claims: "Establishing independent faculties of education [such as teacher education units] has signified the narrowing of educational sciences, a more central position for teacher education at present as compared with former decades, and a growing gulf between education and its neighbouring academic disciplines". (ibid, 4)

The low cultural capital and the lower middle class habitus may also have determined the isolative strategies in the struggle in the academic field. There are at least two 'fronts' on which teacher education and didactics have to fight for distinction and for the right to academic existence. The first front is drawn up between the new didactics against the old social sciences and all the sub-disciplines of education, i.e., against philosophy, sociology and history of education as well as against educational psychology. Another front has been drawn up against the differentiated old subject disciplines, with their differentiating subject of humanities and natural sciences: i.e. didactics of mathematics vs. mathematics, didactics of history vs. history etc.

In the first battle against the old social sciences it seems that "general didactics" has in a way won in its isolation strategy. It has been hard to find any reference to the need for sociology or history of education in the state educational discourse since the late 1970s. As noted before there were up to the early 1990s in the class teacher degree programmes only a very few obligatory courses with some potential references to the socio-historical and institutional character of the school context and they comprised less than five per cent of the educational studies and what might be even more meaningful is the definition of these studies. The emphasis on the macro-level of education, educational policy and a predominantly functionalist approach seems to be quite clear. There are virtually no references to alternative approaches or to the micro- or mezzo-levels of schooling. The focus is rather on what the school ought to have been than on what it has been. It seems fair to say that institutional education appears

in these curricular texts only as a neutral, natural and well-intentioned mission. The school as a socio-historical, institutional context for teaching and learning does not exist in teacher training.

When analyzing the tendencies in determining the subfields of professorial posts, the trend is the same. In 1995, none of the nearly 80 professorships dedicated to teacher education was defined as a post for sociology or history of education. The great majority of posts were assigned explicitly to didactics, including its various branches, and only a few to educational psychology. The same kind of profile emerges clearly in other teaching posts too. It is fair to say that in Finnish teacher education, it is unnecessary to have any competence in social sciences at all. There is no need for any kind of scholarship in the socio-cultural context of teaching and learning in school.

This phenomen of isolation does not concern only teacher education. The evaluation report on educational research by the Finnish Academy criticizes with strong words research in educational psychology as a whole for being isolated from general psychological research and for falling behind its development (Educational Research in Finland 1990, 61, 65). Similar remarks are presented by an international evaluation group for teacher education. The most critical comments refer to the position of psychology in Finnish teacher education. The role of developmental psychology as well as the psychology of learning are seen as very important and connections with departments of psychology were observed to be nonexistent. (Buchberger et al 1994, 15)

In the struggle for domination on the second front - against the subject disciplines, the great victory was launched in 1972 when the posts in subject didactics were established in the brand new teacher education departments, not in the old subject departments. This victory also led little by little to the situation where ever more power to decide the subjects of subject teacher training was transferred to the teacher training departments. We may call this tendency "didacticization of subject teacher training". Since the 1970s the role of the representatives of subject disciplines in teacher education committees has also been more and more marginal. In the committee report of 1989, the didacticization tendency went so far that it was strongly recommended for the subject teachers to complete their Master's thesis in "Subject Didactics", not in the traditional disciplines of their teaching subject. The committee also proposed creating a separate PhD programme

in didactics (CR 1989a). In the few recent committee reports, however, one can see some symptoms of conflicting interests and the potential challenge to the monopoly of subject didactics as the only competent and legitimate speaker for school teaching (see, e.g., CR 1989b, CR 1992, CR 1993).

In a questonnaire conducted among Finnish professors of education in 1995 the professors themselves saw it as most important to increase the shares of optional studies, educational psychology, philosophy and sociology of education in curricula in teacher training. They were most eager to reduce the shares of training practice, subject studies and - which seems to bring up a new trend - of didactics. The disagreement between teacher trainers and other professors of education was greatest when the need for didactics in teacher training is compared (see figure 2). (Vanttaja 1996.)

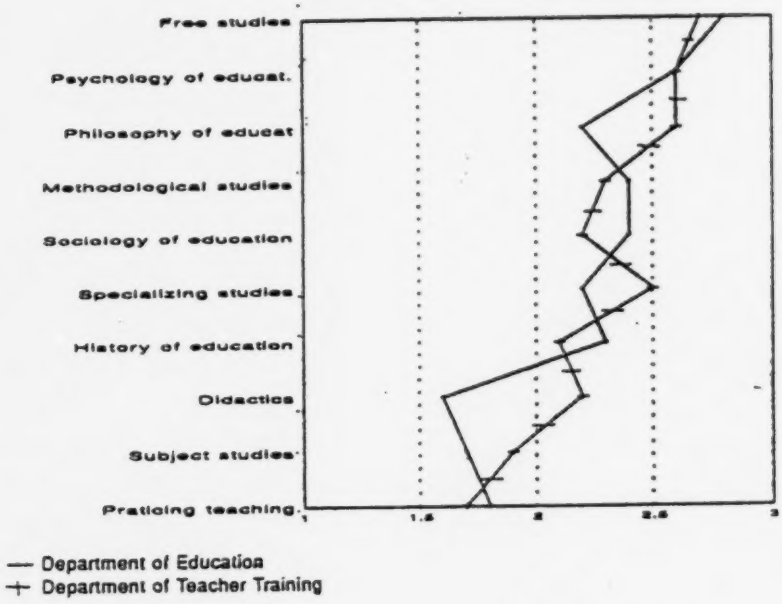

Figure 1. Opinions of professors of education on the importance of different studies in the curriculum for (class) teacher training in 1995.

This, however, is only discussion, and the arguments echo and re-echo within the walls of the faculty of education. It does not tell us what it would actually mean to study more hours of the educational psychology or the sociology of education, if these studies had no connection outside the doors of the institutes of teacher education.

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5. Conclusions

At the beginning of this paper, our first point of departure was David Labaree's notion that to understand teacher professionalism we have to analyse it also in relation to the interests and professionalization of teacher educators. We have shown that the Finnish development of didactics as the "Science of Teaching" has - surprisingly or not - followed the US model. This has been clearest when analysing the psychology-based background and commitment to empiricism. But while in the US, science of teaching is still bound up with and dominated by educational psychology, in Finland there is beginning to exist, more and more powerfully, a sole academic discipline, didactics as the science of teaching or educational science for teacher education. What is of importance here is, that Finnish didactics is searching all the way for an omnipotent monopoly to cover both subject and contextual knowledge of teaching.

Two other characteristics of Finnish didactics seem to be important here. First, it has been very strongly dependent on and intertwined with the official curriculum. Leading Finnish teacher training professors define the concept of didactics as analogical with the curriculum. Second, the context of teaching and learning, the school as a socio-historical institution, is of no interest in didactics. The new science of teaching rather tries to develop models and theories of universal context-free teaching and learning. The focus is clearly on the individual teacher and learner. The individualist and universalist didactics as has veered an abstract, unhistorical and decontextualized study of how a human being ought to be taught and how (s)he should learn.

The second point of departure of this paper brings a dramatic contradiction. While the pursuit of a coherent picture of school teaching and learning would inevitably need the help of neighbouring disciplines, the professionalist drift of teacher educators in fighting for monopoly and distinction in the field tends to work against this obvious need. We have noticed numerous traces of exclusion and closure, not only against the social sciences, the old humanities and natural sciences, but even against the old core of didactics itself - psychology.

Our conclusion here is that the tendency of pedagogic discourse in teacher education is limited to a very narrow concept of didactics, and this may best be understood from the perspective of two driving forces. These are the strong dependency between the state and the professionalistic strategies of teacher educators. On one hand, striving to serve and legitimate the educational reforms of the state, teacher educators tend to adopt the "rationalism of hopes" (Simola 1993b; 1995b; Simola et al fortcoming) of the state educational discourse as a tacit discursive principle of their pedagogical thinking. On the other hand, while pursuing justification of their existence in the academic field, to gain distinction for their secret expert knowledge base from neighbouring disciplines and to strengthen the position of didactics, teacher educators are excluding competing disciplines and constructing a social closure and the whole closed market ruled by their monopoly in the field. Perhaps it is not so mistaken to see the pedagogic discourse in modern teacher education as resembling something like the theology of the ancient for missionary training. It might strengthen faith in the doctrines, but not have much to do with the reality of the heathen to be converted.

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